1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

78 628 626 are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community, sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

576 195 562 All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceeding that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members [522] of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

553 551 **Childbirth and Childhood.**—The child gets two sets of names, one male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These 843 are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in 846 regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an 853 intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed 862 until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No inter● 854 course is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired [291] off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

881 **Puberty and initiations.**—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

[304] [302] A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9, when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man.

885 The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work. 551 Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should 888 die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the 561 status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

653113—47—13

/11 cont./

291 Clothing. The men go about completely naked, but tie the foreskin over the penis glans with a black cotton thread, like the end
[824] of a sausage (Pl. I /see p. 103/, 1). The women wear the nantŏ,
[289] a kind of sash made of the bast of the jangada tree (Apeiba jangada). /Fig. 2 appears here./ Softened in water and beaten and dried with flat stones, it acquires a high degree of pliability and a gleaming white, almost cloth-like appearance, very similar to the Polynesian tapa cloth made in the same way. A piece one span wide and 1 1/2 meters long is placed around the hips, both ends drawn be-

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Fig. 1. Body painting.

291 tween the legs from back to front and knotted below the navel, so that the ends hang down to the feet. When sitting down, the ends are thrown back under the seat (Pl. I /see p. 103 /, 2).

This primitive costume is supplemented by various arm and leg bands which represent a special tribal peculiarity.

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291 Soon after birth the lower arm and lower leg of the child are wrapped with heavy black cotton cords (aʒoñrubĕ), while a band five centimeters wide and likewise black is put around the body. (uaitakaui) (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 3 and 4).

/11 cont./

Some months later the broad, knitted cotton cuffs (deši) are put around the wrists and ankles, while narrower bands provided with tassels hanging down in front are tied under the knee. The former are cylindrical, five to six centimeters wide, with thicker edges projecting out like a hat brim, the latter smooth and only one to two centimeters wide. With increasing growth these bands are gradually replaced by larger ones (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 6 and 8).

The boys wear the ankle bands until after the lips have been pierced, the girls until they marry. The cuffs, which cover almost the whole forearm among the adults, are, like the knee bands, not taken off by either sex until after marriage, and by the women usually not before the birth of the first child. Upon the death of one of the two spouses, the surviving one puts them on again.

Fig. 2. Lip ornaments (1/4).

The sharp external division of single persons from married ones by such distinguishing marks is deeply rooted in the whole social life of this people, as we shall see later. Other ornamental objects will be discussed below.

Also to be included among the articles of clothing is an object quite peculiar to the Karaya, the "riiõ," incorrectly called "rede" (hammock) by the Brazilians and also designated as such by Castelnau and Martius (Pl. VII /see p. 109/, 1).

This cotton plaiting looks very similar to an actual hammock, to be sure, but it is not used as such and is not hung up at all, not even having any cords for this purpose. It serves, rather, as a cloak by day and as an underlayer at night when sleeping on the ground.

/11 cont./

291 ground. One end is drawn hoodlike over the head, while the other covers the seat. Thus the riiõ is really part of the national costume.
[524] One sees, not only the adults, but also small children /12/ parading about with it, and even the little clay dolls of the latter are not
●854 without it. Mats hung up by strings are used only for cradles for the newborn.

171 352 The question as to how the Karaya came to have this original article of clothing is of great ethnographic interest. It is well-known that a large part of the Brazilian tribes does not use the hammock. These are chiefly the Gẽs nations occupying the entire eastern part of the country, such as the Kayapo, Akuã, Kaingan /Caingang/, Botocudo, etc., as well as the Bororo corresponding to them throughout, not in language, to be sure, but in their way of life, usage, and customs. They all sleep on the ground or on wooden frames.

Of the other tribes using hammocks, the Karaib /Carib/ make them out of cotton, the Nu-Aruak out of palm fiber.

This situation is so characteristic that the presence or absence of the hammock for a people, as well as the method of making it, is decisive for their ethnographic classification.

[513] Only the Karaya cannot be fitted into this scheme, because they make cotton hammocks, to be sure, but sleep in them on the ground.

[177] This permits one to conjecture that they only recently adopted the "rede" from another people and did not want to give up their old custom of sleeping on the ground (1).

1. Therefore the anonymous author of an old travel report in Revista trim., Vol. 25, p. 251, states correctly: "These Indians sleep on their redes and the same rede serves as a blanket. This idea is neither innate nor did it arise out of necessity. They learned it from someone." /Translated from the Portuguese./

/28 cont./

836 property and are offered to ships' crews, despite their usually
727 most horrible appearance. Unfortunately, one also sees children used for the same purpose. Here is clearly shown the dualism in
836 the ethics of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to mem-
727 bers of their own tribe. This view, common to all primitive
577 peoples, cannot therefore change our judgment of the morality
186 of the Karaya in general. When Castelnau doubts this, saying,
114 "Ce fait (the stern punishment of a transgression against morals) est peu d'accord avec les offres qui étaient fait continuellement a nos gens /this fact is hardly in accord with the offers that were continually made to our men/" (Hist. du voyage, I, p. 446), he overlooks the fact that these "offres" concerned not their own, but foreign women.

855 In spite of the lack of external signs of tenderness, which are absent among all Indians, the treatment of the children is very loving throughout.

854 The smaller ones are continually carried about by the mothers and tended with tireless care, hung with ornaments and
853 painted, etc. They are suckled for an extraordinarily long time.

857 Older children are left entirely to themselves, but in spite of this demonstrate a natural decency and a modesty of behavior that the highly educated offspring of civilized men only all too
858 often lack. It would be unthinkable among the Karaya that children be traded to the settlers, as unfortunately still frequently occurs in other regions of Brazil, especially on the Amazon. Upon the founding of the Collegio Izabel at Leopoldina, whose purpose was to train young Indians and settle them later as colonists, efforts to obtain Karaya children for it were in vain. Since they once allowed themselves to be misled years ago, and some were lured away and abducted by force, all the young people as a rule take flight at the approach of a boat and only with great difficulty are persuaded to return.

764 The fact that the animal decorations put on the grave poles
532 (cf. p. 63) are marks of the family concerned or of a wider kin
602 grouping indicates the existence of totemism, or clan formation. To be sure, nothing more precise is known about this, but the family system discovered among the Arawak by Im Thurn (1) may also hold for the relationship prevailing among the Karaya.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 175.

/29 cont./

2. (cont.)

833 sursum attrahit, manus natibus ejus supponens. /The Karaya have intercourse with women in the fashion of the native Australians. The man sits on the ground, feet extended, and takes the woman, lying arched backwards above him, his hands supporting her buttocks./ (Cf. Miclucho Maclay, Verhandl. d. berl. Ges. f. Anthr., 1880, p. 87.)

844 Birth. For this the woman kneels on her heels, clasping a post with her hands, while the husband grasps her from behind with strong pressure around her body. Once the child is born, the afterbirth is awaited patiently; then the navel cord is compressed and cut off about three inches from the body with a sharp taquara splint. The blood contained in it is carefully pressed [752] out, "in order to prevent tetanus /Starrkrampf/," and hot ashes and powder from pulverized piranha teeth are sprinkled on the surface of the wound as a styptic. Since no ligature is applied, it is not rare that the child bleeds to death. The newborn is daubed with urucú red, wrapped tightly in a broad strip of jangada 846 bast, and laid in a "rede" tied by strings (see p. 19). For three days both spouses stay on a strict diet. In order to make the uterus contract, the wife lies down on her back and has her abdomen pressed together for a couple of hours by her husband, who sits next to her, or other persons who relieve him. Some 854 months after birth the child receives the above-mentioned cotton bands.

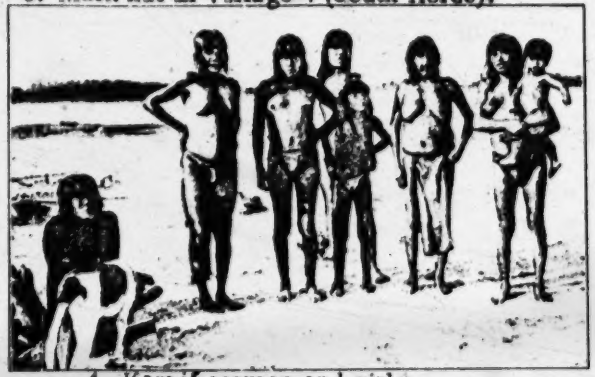
852 At the age of six to seven years the girls' ear-lobes are 304 pierced; for boys, the lower lip as well. The whole community gathers for this. The child sits on a stool decorated with arara feathers in the middle of a large circle. One of the relatives pierces his ears with spines from the tucuma palm, the lower lip with a sharpened monkey-bone. During this the men stand around [533] and sing a song with the closing verse: idžohä hä haṅ, hä haṅ idžiohä, i.e., "now it has happened!"

Plate 12

1. Cooking place of the Karaja Indians.

3. Mask hut in Village 7 (South Horde).

2. Karajá boys.



4. Karajá women and girls.

/Plate 12 faces p. 56./

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Plate 17

Karajá Indians.

/Pl. 17 faces p. 76./

5: Krause--11 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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Plate 30

1. Houses of the Savajé on Bananal.

2. Village bird of the Savajé.

3. Savajé women and children.

4. Savajé men and youths.

5: Krause--19 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
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/Pl. 30 faces p. 136./

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1. Karajá youths.

[854]

2. Karajá women and children.

/208 cont./

292 The net covering [rī(ī)ǒ, rīŭ], on the other hand, is worn by both sexes at all ages. It is knotted of cotton threads and has the shape of a hammock, the two ends of which are each tied together, but lack the cords for hanging it up. The net coverings of the Karajá are of a solid color; the original white color gradually becomes a dirty yellowish-brown with use. Patterned coverings come from the Šavajé or Tapirapé. They are worn for protection against mosquitoes, against sunburn, against the dew of the night, whether the Indians stand, lie, or sit. The manner of wearing them differs: either one end is pulled over the head so that the covering falls down the back (Pl. 12, Ill. 1), or the covering is wrapped around the shoulders so that the two ends fall down in front (Pl. 9, Ill. 1; Pl. 42, Ill. 1). At night they serve [513] as coverings: the feet of the drawn-up legs, in the side or back position, are stuck into one end, the head into the other end, so that the covering protects the body lying beneath it from mosquitoes and dew. Thus, they are not used as an underlayer, as Ehrenreich says, but as coverings. Small net coverings hung on strings as [854] [114] cradles for infants, such as Ehrenreich mentions, I did not see anywhere, despite the fact that I visited almost all the huts (1).

1. See, however, Šavajé, small net covering /see pp. 314-315/.

[289] Small plaited mats of bast are worn by pregnant women before and after birth, and, to be sure, in such a way that they are wrapped around the body from the back and held together in front with the hands (Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3). They serve as a protection against wind and rain. Above all, women with nursing babies take such mats with them when they go out, so as to be able to protect the child and themselves to some extent in a sudden downpour.

834 I should like to add a very few words here about the Indians' feeling of modesty. As far as the men are concerned, I should [177] like to refer to my remarks above about the purpose of the penis cord /see p. 88/; the question is, however, whether the explanation given by the Indians does not go back to Brazilian influence.

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1. Women's clothing and hair style.

2. Karajá women and children.

3. Karajá women and children.

/276 cont./

482 415 Smaller loads are carried in containers on a hand-strap, for example, in carrying sacks (mãsĭ; Pl. 57, Ills. 5 and 6), carrying bags (lõlŭ; Pl. 57, Ill. 4), two-piece baskets (wrãbãhĭ; Pl. 57, Ills. 16 and 17), small pouches (Pl. 55, Ill. 6 a-c), or in small gourd vessels, the perforated edges of which hold the carrying-bands or which are either plaited round with bast (dălīlĭkŭ) or are set into a net of black cotton plaiting (wălăbŭkŭ; Pl. 56, Ill. 4 a-c).

●854 Children ride on the hip and are held there with the hand (Pl. 12, Ill. 4; Pl. 37, Ill. 2; Pl. 42, Ills. 2, 3).

50 [484] Their principal journeys take place by water in a boat. The boat (ãwŏ), of which there is one or more in each family, consists of a dugout six to ten meters long and 40-60 meters wide. The two ends are greatly elongated and slope up from below, so that getting on and off the sandbanks is easily accomplished (Pl. 56, Ill. 5). The boats have no seats; one squats or sits on the narrow bottom. Sometimes cross-rods are put in, upon which the cargo is placed to protect it from the bilge water. In one place [372] in the boat there is often a layer of loam upon which lies the smoldering wood for transporting fire.

The boats are propelled with oars and poles; both are used in journeys upstream and downstream, the poles, of course, only in shallow water. The oars (nālĭhĭ) are manipulated freely as paddles, and, indeed, the rowers kneel or sit in the boat, their [502] faces in the direction of travel. If the boat is propelled by one man, he sits at the rear end and steers at the same time; with a crew of two men, one sits at the front end and one at the rear; several rowers distribute themselves over the entire boat. In the latter case, the rowing rhythm is entirely spontaneous, since the [533] ones in the rear must adjust to the man in front. The song which young people like to take up while rowing has nothing to do with the rhythmical rowing. There are various ways of working the oars: short strokes with pauses after each stroke; long, evenly spaced strokes; slow strokes with a lifting of the blade at the end, so that the water falls off the blade in a broad surge, are regarded [149] as a particularly elegant manner of rowing. The Indians have great endurance; they row for many hours without interruption.

/354 cont./

184 5. Clothing and ornamentation. In clothing, ornamentation, and body care no essential difference from the Karajá is to be noted.

[301] The men wear the hip cord and penis cord in the same
292 manner as the Karajá. Eye shades were not observed. Net coverings were worn by both sexes, they are made by the Šavajé

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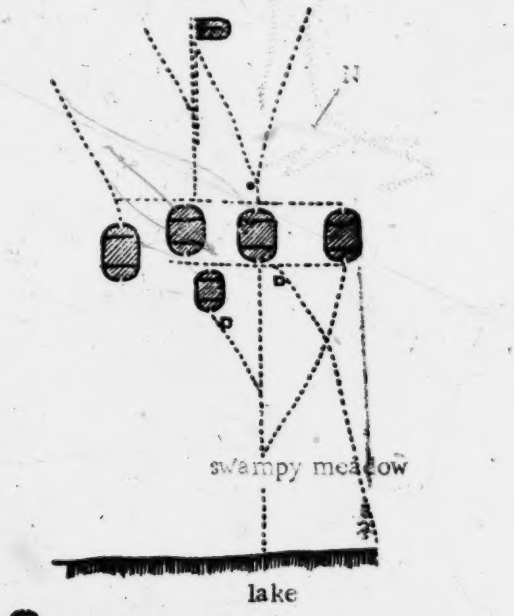

Ill. 188.
Ground plan of the village of the
Šavajé on Bananal.

292 themselves. The manner /355/ of knotting is the same as among the Karaja. Ill. 3 in Plate 59 shows a net covering only 24 centimeters long, which is knotted in the manner of the loose belts
[854] of the girls. Apparently it serves as a bed for a newborn child. Occasionally the brown warp threads of the coverings were shot through with white threads; on the basis of inquiries among the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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301 [286] fancy. Sometimes, however, these ornaments are woven on a wooden form.

292 513 Another article of dress, which is peculiar to the Karayá, is the *hammock*. It is made of cotton cords. Strange to say, it is never used as a hammock; nor can it even be swung up, as it is not provided with any cords for this purpose. It is only the body of a hammock. During the day, it is used as a kind of cloak, and is hooked over the head so as to cover the shoulders and back; and at night, it is used as a mat to sleep upon, *on the ground*. Both adults and children may be seen going about during the day with these huge, half-open-pea-pod like objects hooked over them. It reminds one of a snail with its shell on its back. Even clay dolls have this [854] hammock cloak. It is, however, occasionally fastened up like a hammock in order that it may be used as a cradle for an infant.

513 191 This *hammock* is of great ethnological interest, because the primitive races of Brazil are classified ethnographically according to whether they sleep in a hammock or do not. It is [352] known that all the tribes occupying the eastern half of Brazil, which includes the Karayá, sleep on the ground, or on slightly raised platforms made of poles; while those that are really hammock using tribes—that sleep in hammocks—make their hammocks of cordage twisted from cotton and palm-leaf fibre. But the Karayá *hammock* is made of cotton only; moreover, it is not a complete hammock and is not used to sleep in. This proves that the Karayá are not to be classified as one [177] of the hammock tribes. We are to understand, therefore, that they got the idea of the hammock comparatively recently from some other people, probably from the "civilized" Brazilians, who make them of cotton only; and though they value them, they are yet unwilling to give up their old custom of sleep- [986] ing on the ground. A certain Brazilian explorer asserts that he taught the Karayá to make a simple loom and how to weave.

293 Another article of dress used by the Karayá, is a kind of eye-shade, called an eye-umbrella. It is used to protect the

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

577 of preserving their own health and the perpetuity of their tribe. With them, the abstaining from or checking of vice, is not a question of conscience, or ethics. They do not regard vice, and evil generally, as wrong in a moral sense, but in a physical and utilitarian sense—because they see that it injures them physically and materially. Right and wrong, virtue and vice mean to them simply material well-being or damage—a question of expediency only. Their perception of moral principles is very dim. They possess the innate ideas of right and wrong, as do all human beings, but seemingly in a blind, instinctive, unintelligent sense only, like a child. [626] Though the taboo, or belief that dire calamities will be visited upon them if they should transgress the will of their divinities, exercises a powerful influence on their conduct.

584 Matrimony is consummated by the man in question making known his wishes to the parents of the maiden of his choice. These in turn ask their daughter if she gives her consent. If 585 she is willing, her affianced delivers to her all his weapons. He then conducts her to the domicile of one of his relatives, as he, of course, has no house of his own. Here they both remain four days as guests of the family. The fifth day, the bride is led back to the hut of her parents, following which, she returns to the bridegroom his weapons. As if to prove that he is competent to care for a family, the groom goes on a few days' hunt, returning when he has secured a quantity of game. The marriage ceremony terminates with a bacchanalian feast, given by the bride's parents, which corresponds to the wedding supper of civilized people. The couple may now live together, and a hut is built for them.

855 The Karayá love their children and treat them kindly, though they are stoical and make no display of their affections. This is true of most of the South American tribes. ●854 Very young children are carried about constantly by the mother, and cared for untiringly; and are coated with colored grease and decorated with bright feathers with the same pride and solicitude that the most civilized mothers care ooo for and dress their children. The older children are left to